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CHAPTER VII

ECONOMY

The Domestic and Tribal Economy of the Aztec People

THE AZTEC SOCIAL SYSTEM provided a means by which people could exist harmoniously together in considerable numbers. The domestic and tribal economy of the Aztecs offered the food, shelter, tools and clothing to which man largely owes his dominant position on earth. The measure of a human society may be gauged by the relationship between the organization of the people themselves and their use of materials to build houses and equip them. The Aztecs' economy had the same basic simplicity as had their social organization; likewise it had the same flexibility in expanding to meet the needs of a growing population.[1]

Agriculture was the basis of Aztec life, and corn, *zea mays*, was the chief food plant. The cultivation of plants ensured a food supply near at hand, which was not subject to the fluctuations of game and thereby enabled man to take thought for the morrow. The clan system, as we have seen, recognized that the fruits of the land supported the tribe. Therefore, it was only natural that the tribe should own and control the land which supported its members.[2] (See Plate 38.)

The tribal council divided the land among the clans, and

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the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable migrations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[8]

The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

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treat to islands in the lake, they met the land problem in the same ingenious way as did the Chalcas, Xochimilcas and the tribes to the northwest, in Lake Zumpango.

This method was to create *chinampas*, the so-called "floating gardens." The *chinampa* was, in reality, a small artificial island, made by scooping up mud from the marshy borders of the lakes and at first holding it in place by a revetment of reeds and later by trees whose roots bound the earth solidly together. Water flowed into the narrow pits, making them into canals. Fresh mud was always added before planting, so that the fertility of the earth was constantly renewed. The Tenochcas and their neighbors thus converted great sections of otherwise unproductive marsh, flooded in the rainy season, into a grid of canals and fields, the fertility of which is equaled only by the river-flooded lands of the Nile Delta. *Chinampa* agriculture continues today in the districts of Xochimilco and Chalco, where most of the vegetables are grown for the modern metropolis of Mexico City. The inhabitants still use the Aztec language and occupy the same land as did their ancestors, renewing them each year by the same methods used in Aztec times. The outlines of former beds may be seen for a considerable distance round about, since the modern draining of Lake Texcoco has dried up much of the lake area of the Valley of Mexico.[4] (See Plate 37, bottom.)

When the Tenochcas moved into the lake they achieved living room. As the city grew it could incorporate the adjacent garden beds for house foundations, while the increase in population could be fed by building new *chinampas* on the outskirts of the farming area. Thus much of their success may be attributed to the freedom from internal strife

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burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

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The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Tepeyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoacan. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they entered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been constructed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern causeway. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight and these simple methods for getting fresh water and disposing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifications, and formal military architecture was rare. The temples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points; indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

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361 174 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously [241] [311] [50] poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 505] Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 174 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

The fourth month they called Uei tecuilli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Chapter 4
Uei tecuilli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli;* and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chía*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all those things which are necessaries of life, that the people may live.

1. Marginal notation: *Sacrificio mauio or hail feast.*

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey toçoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazia fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

Cap. 4.
Vey toçoztli

En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a las puertas de las casas ensangrentadas con sangre de las orejas, o de las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman acxotl. Tambien enrramauan a sus dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada vno tenja en su casa.

Despues desto, yuan por los mahizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda delante dellos.

Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan chicome coatl: y alli delante della hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año pasado: yuan en procesion, a presentarlas, a la diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venjdero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las trojes, por estar bendito.

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente.

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was *strife*.

[431] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

● [24] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *magucy* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

[178] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, *five tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonoaz*, "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them: there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

oeztzoac, yn omotlali, hi tzonxoliuhtimanj, iniolcuitimanj.

Auh yn otlathuj, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, cencal nemj, tecalpanoa, quicenocuitiuj in calli, no ichoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlacujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlaueliz, ic motlaueliztz, ic mihixnamiquj:
in telpopochti, telpochcali quitquj, vmpa quipalou.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac quitquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cintetuanazque, yn izquican manj inmil, yn itoch, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, quioalitquj, yn inchachan:

quinxnxochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco quiquetza: vncan quintlaquentia, quintlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan quimanaia macujlxetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icaóuh cujiatlaoatzalli, tepiioacquj, quappiztic, tlaixtecouilli. quitzincuetia: yoan cen chiquijuitl pinolli, yoan ceio izquitl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli quitequj acatl vncan quitemjtia, quitentiquetza, yn izquitlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepitzcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa quicuj, quimamalhia in cujxl.

Auh yn iquac y, motenona calonoac, cali ononac: ichica ca çan cali çan techachan in mauiztililoia cicintex.

Auh in ie teutlac, vmpa quimoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa quinamoc, ic nexujltilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli iez: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, quinmamaltia ichpupuchti:

yn aca atzontocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca

6. *Cañas de maíz* in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296) translates the term as *mata de maíz*; Molina (*op. cit.*) as "*parvum o mata de maiz entre de que siembra.*"

7. "*Unas yerbas, que llamauan, maruual,*" in Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 330), referring to the *maguey*, says: "*Las raices generan tuberculi, erroles de patata.*"

8. Granulé, roasted maize mixed with chia seed, cacao, etc., according to Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 95).

the small ears of maize beside the main ear;[18] the ripened green maize.[19]

Then the beans—white beans, yellow beans, red beans, quail-colored beans;[20] black beans; flesh-colored beans;[21] fat, red beans; wild beans;[22] amaranth; the variety of amaranth call *cuexi*;[23] fine, red amaranth seed;[24] [common] red amaranth;[25] black amaranth; bright red or *chili*-red amaranth;[26] fish-amaranth [*michinamili* or *chicalotl*];[27] brilliant black amaranth seed;[28] the bird-seed called *pexacat*;[29]

also *chia*—white *chia*, black *chia*, and wrinkled *chia*.

All these things, thus mentioned, all these they offered to [the goddess]. When her feast day was celebrated, they formed her image, and laid all before her; the old men of the tribal temple sang for her; they beheaded quail for her.

And her adornment [was thus]: she was anointed all in red—completely red on her arms, her legs, her face. All her paper crown was covered completely with red ochre; her embroidered shirt also was red; her skirt was the color of ripe fruit. She had a chief's shield, painted with designs and embellished in red. She carried in either hand her double ear of maize.

Thus ended the festival of Uei toçoztli, and thus ended and passed the vigil songs. And then the winding dance, the dance with song, began. This ended at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl.

njman iehoutl in etl, yn itnac etl, ecoztli, echichilli, çoletl, tliletl, aquiletl, xiecotli, quavecoc, ouuhtli, cocotl, tlapalhouuhtli, xochiouuhtli, tliliouuhtli, teouuhtli, anoço chichiltouuhtli, mjchiouuhtli, chicalotl, tencauuhtli, pexicatl:

no yoan in chien, itnac chien, tliltic chien, chiancozcol.

Jn ixquich y, iuh quitoa, ca moch iehoutl, quixmaca: in iquac ilhujuh, quitlacatilia, muchi ixpan quimanaia, quicuicatia in veuetque, calpuleque: quitlacotonjlia.

Auh yn jnechichioal motlaoçaia, muchi tlauhio, centlauhio, yn jmac, yn icxic, yn jaco: muchi tlacemaquilli, tlaujtl yn jamacal yn iviqil tlamachio, no tlauhio, yn icue cacamoliuhqui, tlaolchimali cuilolli, tlauhpoiaoac, ycinma nenecoccampa quitquitica.

ic ontlamj, in vey toçoztli: yoan ic vntlamj ic quiça, in toçoztzcujcatl. Auh iquac vmpeoa in necococolo, cujcoanolo: vmpa vntlami, yn ipan toxcatl.

796X
824
243
796X
241
826

796X

796X
532

796X

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18. Gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (loc. cit.): "Mazorquillas de maçes que son hijos de las mazorcas." Simeon (op. cit.) has "pani ẽpi de maiz que quedan ỹ crian de ỹtla principal."

20. Orozco y Berra, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 314, has as follows: "[Made] De maizes hasta que está en gran crecido, se llaman . . . Xiloti, jilote, la mazorca de maiz tierno y por mazar. Elotl, elote, la mazorca tierna aunque con los granos empiezan. . . . Centli, cintli, el maiz sazo en mazorca o desgranado desde, tlaxcalli, tlaxcali. . . . Olotl, olotle, el cascaro de la mazorca; Elotehuatl, olotemazolotle—los hojas que la envuelven."

21. In loc. cit., Sahagún has "Primeiro granados de color de colorados." See also Robredo ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 363.

22. Gloss in *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit.: "Frisoles de color encarnado."

23. Cf. Robredo ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 232: "Hay otra cola que se llama cuexi; la hierba de esta cola llaman quauhtzon y xuchilco cuexi. Esta hierba hace unas hojas que son como frisoles grandes, y esa frisoles silvestres."

24. "Y unos blancos que son como semillas o cenizas de España"—ajlos, *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit.

25. "Una manera destos blancos colorados llama" (loc. cit.) Clavijero (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 61) has Purslane (amaranth) Portulaca oleracea L. Por.

26. "Una manera destos blancos colorados" (*Florentine Codex*, loc. cit.)

27. Ixmiz es un amaranto—"Una manera de blancos muy colorados y muy buenos" (loc. cit.).

28. "Blancos o semilla dellos como huesos de peras"; name in chicalotl—hicchiuhquilli: tiene hasta chicalotl (loc. cit.).

29. "Unos blancos negros semilla es muy negra" (loc. cit.). 30. "Una yerua cuya semilla comen los pobres [sic]" (loc. cit.)

richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[15] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[16] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocatenucujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic uj moenatlaçaque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauiçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cencer veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoalôc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxipilaoan no tototectli: in jquac mjqui toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in inteteupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in oalcoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlaolli, cuztic tlaolli, iavitl, xiuhtoctli, yoã aiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn n.omotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: motenteoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, mmaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixooa njman ie ic vi in motlatiaque: njmã ie ic oaltemo in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocaxitico tlaxiatlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca tototoca, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçani: in aquin iacattiuh, qujmotzolotiquiça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

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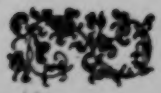
15. "*Los sumyos, de la diosa chicomo coatl*" (corresponding Spanish text).
16. "*Este se subian, entrava en el pequeño, que se llamauan [de] la vnas 'de uitzilobuchtli*" (loc. cit.). *Codex Borbonicus*, month of Ochpaniztli. *Durmann* n. Peso y Troncoso, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
17. *Rückenstandli*, in Sahagun (*op. cit.*) is deleted as male tongue. See, however, n. 12, p. 42.
18. "*Pequeño aluero, en un lugar que se llamaua cuezalpil, que era en espacio, que auia entre las gradas del en, y el patio aluero, al qual espacio subia por cinco, o seys, gradas*" (corresponding Spanish text).



Thirty-second Chapter, in which are related the feasts and sacrifices which they made, in the days of the thirteenth month, which was known as, and named, Tepeilhuitl.

The thirteenth feast was known as the "Mountain Feast."

All the digging sticks which were kept in men's houses, and the heavier sticks,[1] made as [representations of] mountains, they covered with a coating of dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And their bones were likewise fashioned of a dough of [ground] amaranth seeds, long and cylindrical in shape. Either fish amaranth[2] or *chía* [was used].[3]

And also they fashioned [images in the form of] mountains for, perchance, one who had died in the water—having drowned—or had been struck by lightning.

And for whosoever had been [thus] slain and not burned but only buried,[4] [to honor him] they also made images of the mountains; they made them all of the dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And upon the eve of the feast, toward sundown, they were bathed, their faces were washed.[5] When they [went to] wash them, they went blowing and sounding little clay whistles and little sea shell whistles for [the images].[6]

And they bathed them there at the Mist House; [with] fresh cane shoots they washed their faces. And some [men] washed them only at nearby shores.[7]

And when they had been washed, then the return was made whence they had come; in the same manner they came blowing whistles, with a great din as of shouting. Thereupon were given human form

Inic cempoalli on matlactli omome capitulo: vncan moteneoa in jlhujtl, yoan in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl omei metztli in motenecoaia, in mjtoaia Tepilhujtl. 796 X

Injc matlactetl omei ilhujtl iehoatl in motenecoa tepeilhujtl:

in jzquichtin cocoa im pipialo techachan, yoan in ecatototi, quitetepetlaliaia, tzoalli injc quinpepechoaia: [241] 796 X 778

auh in jmomjo muchioaia, çan no tzoalli, mjmjmjltic, aço mjchioauhtli, anoço cócotl:

auh no quitepetlaliaia, in açaca atlan mjc, in jlaquijlo, in anoçe viteco: [765 778]

yoã in aquin omomjquili, in amo tlatilo, in çan quitoca, no tepetl ipan quiquixtiaia, çan moch tzoalli in quinchichioaia: 796 X

Auh in oquiuh muztla ilhujtl teutlacpa in tezaltilo, anoço teixamjlo: injc quimonaltia quintlapichilitivi, in quinpichilitivi, cocovilotl, yoan tecciztotonti. [534]

Auh in quimonaltiaia, vmpan aiauhcalco, acatzontli iehoatl in celtic ic quimixamja: auh in coquintin çan imatenco in quimonaltia.

Auh in ontealtiloc, mec oalteuepalo, çã no ivi, [534] 796 X 778

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1. See corresponding Spanish text. Cap. XIII has: "*Assi tambien eran hechos de pala grandes como la mesma hechura Enmascarados Enmascarados.*" Of these and of coras. Tampantzolo (*op. cit.*, Lib. II, p. 279) writes: "*Para esta solemnidad, la primera era, hazer unas coluebras de pale, ò de cabos de Arboles, labrandolas las cabeças la mas parte enmascaradas que ahora. Hazian tambien de magueles pequeñas unas figurillas, à manera de los Matlazinci, que acostumbran los Nobles, en nuestra Nacion Española, las quales llamaban Enmascarados. . . .*" Chavigero, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-7, writes similarly.

2. *Bledus blitoides* in Molina, *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl vocabulary. In this chapter, however, Sahagún refers to *matlalxochitli* as yellow amaranth. See also p. 63, n. 28.

3. In the Bulmaro ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 364, Nicolás León has deleted *coatl* in "*Tlacoatl (Chia de)*"; in his study he used the mutilated illustrations in Pozo y Troncoso's reproductions. *Coatl* is No. 955.

4. Tampantzolo (*loc. cit.*) further explains: ". . . *en memoria de el primer diluuio, en especial de los que se auian ahogado en Agua, ò otras muertes de muerte, que no podiessen ser quemados sus cuerpos, ò fuessen enterrados por algunas causas.*"

5. Both Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) and Ixtlilxochitl (*op. cit.*, pp. 190-91) differ from this version. In Sahagún, the people wash the same agua which the images stand; in Ixtlil, the people are washed.

6. Though the entirety seems to refer to the images, in the Spanish text Sahagún writes: "*Lo vltimo de esta fiesta llevavan a lauar estas rocas al rio o a la fuente. . . .*"

7. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) has: "*el agua que pasaba junto a su casa.*"

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neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 38) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advantage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches,[1] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets, that brought large river fish through

[1] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure.—Analyst]

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797 They immediately did what we asked them in the matter of the cross, and they said that they would remove their Idols, but although they were many times ordered to do it, they delayed. Then the Padre de la Merced said to Cortés that it was going too far, in the beginning, to take away their Idols until they should understand things better, and should see how our expedition to Mexico would turn out, and time would show us what we ought to do in the matter, that for the present the warnings we had given them were sufficient, together with the setting up of the Cross.

361 I will cease speaking of this and will tell how that city
241 was situated on a plain, in a locality where there were
273 many neighbouring towns, such as Tepeaca, Tlaxcala, Chalco, Tecamachalco, Huexotzingo and many others, so numerous that I will not name them, and it is a land fruitful in maize and other vegetables, and much Chili pepper, and the land is full of Magueys from which they
323 make their wine. They make very good pottery in the
438 city of red and black and white clay with various designs, and with it supply Mexico and all the neighbouring provinces as, so to say, do Talavera or Placencia in Spain.
346 At that time there were many high towers in the city which were their Cues or oratories where the Idols stood, especially the Great Cue which was higher than that of Mexico, although the Mexican Cue was very lofty and magnificent. There were courts for the service of the Cues, and, as we understood, they possessed a very great Idol whose name I forget, but among themselves they held it in great reverence, and people came from all parts to sacrifice to it and to hold services like Novenas and to make offerings of property they possessed. I remember that when we entered into that city and saw such white and lofty towers, it looked like Valladolid itself.

000 I must stop talking about this City and all that hap-

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133 appended the depths of the lakes as determined by the drainage commission of 1861.

Name.	Level above Texcoco in Metres.	Depth in Metres.
Texcoco	0.00 ...	0.50
Zumpango ...	6.06 ...	0.80
Xaltocan	3.47 ...	0.40
San Cristóbal ...	3.60 ...	0.60
Xochimilco ...	3.14 ...	2.40 to 3.00
Chalco	3.08 ...	2.40
City of Mexico ...	1.90 ...	—

Silt may have made a considerable difference to the level of the lakes during four hundred years, but no possible allowance for silt could alter the conclusion that at the time of the Conquest the lakes must have been very shallow.

241 The site of the City was originally, in all probability, two reed-
361 covered mud banks or islands, which may have been cultivated in much the same manner as were the *chinampas* or floating gardens at the time of the Conquest, or as the chinampas of Xochimilco are at the present day, and these two islands became respectively the sites of the towns of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan, and the space between them was eventually reduced to a rather broad canal.

361 Islands in lakes, or rocky knolls on the land surrounded by deep barrancas or gulches, were frequently chosen by the Indians tribes as sites for towns on account of the facility for defence, and the number of such sites in Mexico and Central America[1] still either occupied by towns or containing the ruins of ancient buildings are evidence of a continual state of intertribal walfare.

241 The chinampas were formed by heaping up the soft mud from the lake on to wattles in order to form seed beds for flowers and vegetables, and these floating gardens gradually increased in size and became more compact from the growth of the interlacing roots of the willows and other water-loving plants until they may have supported a small hut for the owner and his family, and the lengthening roots eventually anchored them on the shallow margin of the lake. Two large groups of such gardens are shown on the map published in Clavigero's *History of Mexico* lying off

[1] Cf. Mixquic, Tlahuac and Xochimilco in the lakes of Mexico, Tayasal in the lake of Peten, and the island homes of the Lacandones in Guatemala. Towns almost surrounded by barrancas are Cuernavaca and Yacapistla in Mexico, and Utatlan and Iximché, etc., in Guatemala. It is as well to note here that such sites were not chosen for cities of the older culture such as Teotihuacan, Cholula, Mitla, Palenque, Copan, etc.

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241

CHINAMPAS ON LAKE XOCHIMILCO.

[Facing p. 46(A)]

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To face p. 46.

●24

CHINAMPAS ON LAKE XOCHIMILCO.

Photo by A. P. Maudslay.

[Facing p. 46 (B)]

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241 Iztapalapa and Xochimilco, and at the present day a similar form of cultivation, although the gardens are no longer floating, may be seen at Xochimilco and along the banks of the Viga Canal, the water-way connecting Xochimilco with the City of Mexico.

These gardens are divided into long narrow strips with canals running between just wide enough for the passage of a dug-out canoe. The Indian cultivator poles his canoe along the narrow channels and scoops up the soft mud from the bottom to spread it over the land, and splashes the water over the growing plants with his paddle. It was probably this method of cultivation which gave [361] the mainly rectangular arrangement of the streets of the City of Mexico, the more unsymmetrical canals showing the original water ways between the mud banks, while the aggregation of chinampas may have left an irregular margin of outlying houses and gardens.

363 503 The very slight difference in level between the Lake of Texcoco and the site of the City made the latter liable to frequent inundations, and this difficulty was met by the inhabitants by engineering works of considerable importance. A causeway was built passing through the island town of Tlahuac, dividing the Lake of Chalco from that of Xochimilco, and a second causeway separated the waters of Xochimilco from those of Texcoco. The City of Mexico had probably already been joined to the mainland, for purposes of communication, by the causeways of Tlacopan (Tacuba) and Tepeyac (Guadalupe), and a third and longer causeway was added by connecting the City with the barrier holding back the waters of Xochimilco; this third causeway was known as the causeway of Iztapalapa. The lakes of Zumpango and Zaltocan were also traversed by causeways, but it is not now possible to locate their position.

363 503 731 These various causeways did much to control the movement of the waters of the lakes during the rainy season, but they were not sufficient to prevent serious inundations, and native tradition and a picture in a Mexican codex[1] go to prove that during the reign of Motecuhzoma (Montezuma) Illhuicamina, between the years 1440 and 1450, a very wet season caused the waters of Lake Texcoco to rise so much that the City was almost destroyed and the inhabitants had to take refuge in their canoes and piraguas. Montezuma applied for assistance and advice to his friend Netzahualcoyotl the King of Texcoco, and under his sage direction a great dyke was constructed, known as the "Albarradon of Nezhualcoyotl."

731 503 "This gigantic dyke started from Atzacualco on the North and followed a straight line to the South as far as Ixtapalapa at the foot of the hill called la Estrella. This great work, which was sixteen kilometres[2] in length, was constructed of stone and clay

[1] "Codex Telleriano Remeusio." [2] Ten miles.

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Such springs were also to be seen in and around the Lake of Mexico, but not in such considerable numbers, and there must also have been one or more on the site of the City which supplied its earliest inhabitants with drinking water, although in later Indian times the supply was brought in an aqueduct from a fine spring near Chapultepec.

"The population of Tenochtitlan (the City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest is variously stated. No contemporary writer estimates it at less than sixty thousand houses, which by the ordinary rules of reckoning would give three hundred thousand souls. If a dwelling often contained, as it asserted, several families, it would swell the amount considerably higher."[1]

The supply of food for such a population must have been a matter of no little difficulty, for the soil on the hill-sides is scanty, many of the slopes are composed of *tepetatle*, a mixture of volcanic ash and scoria fit only for growing maguey,[2] and considerable surfaces are covered with lava and carry no loam at all. The scarcity of good soil must have led to an intensive cultivation, and this is also shown by the care with which manure was collected,[3] as is the case in China and Japan to-day.

Food must have been brought from very considerable distances, and the want of a sufficient supply from the near neighbourhood must have had much to do with the predatory nature of the Aztec dominion.

Note on the Drainage.

From the time of the Spanish settlement the security of the city from floods and the drainage of the valley became the preoccupation of the Spanish Viceroys. After a severe inundation in 1555, Don Luis de Velasco replaced the Albarradon of Nezahualcoyotl, which had fallen into decay, by a similar and shorter dyke somewhat nearer the city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a French engineer, Henri Martin, known in Mexico as Enrico Martínez, planned a system of drainage and a cutting (known as the *tajo de Nochistongo*) through the mountain rim to the north-east of the valley, but this work was only partly carried out during the following years and was not completed until the end of the eighteenth century.

The flood of 1865 again brought the question of drainage into prominence, and new works, including a large canal and a large tunnel, were commenced and brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the year 1900.

The lakes of Zaltocan and Zumpango are now almost dry during the summer months. The Lake of Chalco has been drained dry,

[1] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*.
[2] The American aloe, *Agave americana*, from which pulque is made.
[3] Text page 72.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The soil built over by each "calpulli" probably remained for some time the only *solid* expanse held by the Mexicans. Gradually, however, the necessity was felt for an increase of this soil. Remaining unmolested "in the midst of canes and reeds," their numbers had augmented, and for residence as well as for food, a greater area was needed. Fishing and hunting no longer satisfied a people whose original propensities were horticultural; they aspired to cultivate the soil as they had once been accustomed to, and after the manner of the kindred tribes surrounding them. For this purpose they began throwing up *little artificial garden-beds*, "chinampas,"[36] on which they planted Indian corn and perhaps some other vegetables. Such plots are still found, as "floating gardens," in the vicinity of the present city of Mexico, and they are described, as follows, by a traveller of this century:

"They are artificial gardens, about fifty or sixty yards long, and not more than four or five wide. They are separated by ditches of three or four yards, and are made by taking the soil from the

Méjico," p. 442. Vedia, I). "Many married people ("muchos casados") live in one house, either on account of the brothers and relations being together, as they do not divide their grounds ("heredades"), or on account of the limited space of the pueblos; although the pueblos are large, and even the houses." Peter Martyr of Angleria ("De Novo Orbe," translated by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, London, 1612. Dec. V, cap. X, p. 228), says: "But the common houses themselves as hygh as a mannes Girdle, were also built of stone, by reason of the swellyng of the lake through the floode, or washing flote of the Ryvers fallying into it. Vpon those greate foundations, they builde the reste of the house, with Bricke dryed, or burned in the sunne, intermingled with Beames of Tymber, and the common houses have but one floore or planchin." We are forcibly reminded here of the houses of Itza on Lake Peten, which were found in 1695. "Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XII. p. 494." "It was all filled with houses, some with stone walls more than one rod high, and higher up of wood, and the roofs of straw, and some only of wood and straw. There lived in them all the Inhabitants of the Island brutally together, one relationship occupying a single house." See also the highly valuable Introduction to the second Dialogue of Cervantes-Salinas ("Mexico in 1554") by my excellent friend Sr. Icazbalceta (pp. 73 and 74).

[36] "Chinampa," derives from "Chinamitl." "Seta o cerca de canas," (enclosure of canes or reeds). Molina "Vocabulario", Parte II, p. 21). This mode of enclosing the ground was very common in the valley. A cluster of settlements between Churubusco and the Eastern lagoon has even obtained from it the name of "Chinampanecas (frequently mentioned in Tezozomoc and Durán.) The word "Chinamitl" has been adopted by the Quiché of Guatemala, changed into "Chinamit," and used to designate a *kinship*. (See "Popol-Vuh., pp. 301, 304, 306, where "Chinamit" is translated as family.) Even in those remote regions where the territories of Yucatan and Guatemala join, or rather merge into each other, around Lake Peten, where the Nahuatl language is hardly known, we find in the 17th and 18th century, a tribe of "Chinamitas," who are said to have inhabited an area surrounded by Mexican agaves ("Magueyes") as a defensive hedge. ("Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XI, pp. 489-495.) It shows that the original signification of the word, at least, was connected with the notion of a family-lot.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

intervening ditch, and throwing it on the chinampa, by which means the ground is raised generally about a yard, and thus forms a small fertile garden, covered with the finest culinary vegetables, fruits and flowers . . . . . ."[37]

Each consanguine relationship thus gradually surrounded the surface on which it dwelt with a number of garden plots sufficient to the wants of its members.[38] The aggregate area thereof, including the abodes, formed the "*calpullalli*"—soil of the "calpulli,"[39] *and was held by it as a unit;* the *single tracts*, however, being tilled and used for the benefit of the *single families*.[40] The mode of tenure of land among the Mexicans at that period was therefore very simple. The tribe claimed its *territory*, "ALTEPETLALLI," an undefined expanse over which it *might extend*, —the "calpules," however, *held* and *possessed within that territory* such portions of it as were *productive;* each "calpulli" being *sovereign* within its limits, and assigning to its individual members *for their use* the minor tracts into which the soil was parcelled in consequence of their mode of cultivation. If, therefore, the terms "altepetlalli" and "calpulalli" are occasionally regarded as *identical*, it is because the former indicates the *occupancy*, the latter *the distribution* of the soil.[41] We thus recognize in the calpulli, or kindred group, the unit of tenure of whatever soil the Mexicans deemed worthy of definite possession. Further on we

[37] "Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico," by W. Bullock. London, 1824. Cap. XIII, p. 179. It is not devoid of interest to compare the descriptions of this rather superficial, though still truthful observer, with the account of the ancient Chinampas as preserved to us in Tezozomoc (cap. III, p. 9). Durán (cap. VI, pp. 50 and 51). The floats or rafts mentioned by these old authors were nothing else but the chinampas or "floating gardens." Therefore also Tezozomoc uses the term "camellon," or garden-bed. (See also Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473.) Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXII, p. 488). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 143).

[38] Durán (Cap. V). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 6). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXXIII, p. 291. Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 101). Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XVII).

[39] Alonzo de Zurita (p. 51). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 341). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 548). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," p. 232).

[40] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 56, 58, 57, 60).—De l'Ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens, etc., etc. (copy of an anonymous MS. from Simancas, contained in the Uguina collection, and translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Recueil de pièces, etc., pp. 213 and 234.)

[41] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 51-54). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 139). Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo (Letter of 3 Nov., 1532, Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V. "Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 288). See also the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pochos y Paga. Pertenecientes á los Caciques de Axapusco," in "Col. de Doc." of Icazbalceta (Vol. II, p. XIII).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

pize"). *Zurita* (pp. 131–133) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 269; cap. VIII, p. 275). *Zurita* (p. 131): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 486): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredados para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 69).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que allí se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los idolos." Id., (Cap. IV, p. 266): "y lo ofrecian á la casa de los idolos que se llama Calmecac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 338): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 197 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 12th edifice "Tillancalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civocoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

13th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

24th edifice, "Vitznaoac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznaoac, (p. 202)

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 203).

28th edifice. "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 203).

34th edifice, "Yopico Calmecac, "monasterio ó oratorio," (p. 207).

61st edifice, "Tzoalmoloc-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Xiuhtecutli," (p. 207).

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[241]

[415]

94-101. Our Rabbit's good fortune (Chapter 36).

— After Paso y Troncoso

[p. 126 p]

X 787 all, lose his property, scatter it. Where could he save himself, find repose, or extend his arm? What could he quickly take? Well did he save, hide, and store his sustenance for himself.

X 787 164 Everything frightened him lest pestilence sometime come upon him: fearful sickness, the gout, lameness, cramps, paralysis; sickness of the eyes—ophthalmia, or crossed eyes, or watering, withered, or shattered eyes, and blindness; or cancer,[1] piles, some major corruption; or the king's evil; or inflammation of glands might settle in and affect his throat, scarring and marking it;[2] or a bloody flux and loss of blood;[3] or a sore throat, and hoarseness; or pustules, etc.; or possession by a demon, and insanity.

X 787 This man was the one on whom these ailments did not settle; who benefited and provided for himself, and provided for and benefited his children and grandchildren; who lived in wealth.

X 787 ●241 And if he were a gardener, a worker of the soil, a laborer, one who tilled the land, one who broke and reworked the fields, he planted and sowed all things on his land, in his garden, in his worked fields. And when [the seed] had sprouted, and formed shoots, he hoed the ground; he built up mounds; he broke the clods of earth, and went stirring up the dust.

And if it were irrigated land, he opened his plot for irrigating. And if he had swamp land, and were a dweller in swamp country, he cultivated and planted maize for tamales, transplanted and set out chilis, and fertilized the land.

X 787 After this, he witnessed the successful results of his fatigue and pains. Thus he attained his wealth and his contentment. When he had realized and procured his products of the soil, he was content, rejoicing, and happy.

X 787 251 He stored it; everything he stored up: his ears of maize, black, white, yellow, or red. And when he harvested and gathered it, he put aside, sorted out, and chose the large ears of maize. Some he formed into clusters, separate clusters; some he formed into caltrops. On the beams at the front of the house he hung the bunches and the caltrop-shaped bunches.

tlē conxitiuetzia, vel motlamatōcia, monepachoāia, quintzontlalia, yn ineuca,

mochi iē ỳnjc motlamatlacaitilia in ma quēmá ipan oalla in tonatiuh, hecatl, in temamauhti cocoliztli, in coacivitzli, in cocoztzavilizti, in oapocalizti, quiquamihiliztli, yn anoço iancoliztli, ijchichtinaliztli, in tetzcuecueponi, in tetzcatatili, tetzpetzauh, tetzcacaxo, tlaiocuiantetlali, anoço quaiocatl, xochicivitzli, itla verpulanaliztli, anoço teçanpotzalli, cuāeri in tequechtlamomotlalia motlatilia, tequechtitilo tequechtitiquijlo, tequechmomotzolo, anoço tlacēli, cacaxicaltic, anoço-tetzcamiiacocivilizti, ỳçaquilizti, nanaoatl. et.[4] anoço tetechquineoalizti, ieltetlevelilocatilizti.

Jehoatl in ỳnic ĩmoelatlalia, ỳnic mocuelia, ỳnjc monavilia, yuan quijnavilia, quimjcnelia yn ipilhoā, yn jxviuan, ỳnjc motlātlauhchitinemj,

auh itla millacatl, tlalchiuhqui, elimjoqui, elimjquinj, çacamo, çacamoanj, izquich quijoca, cuelaxpeoa, yn imilpan, yn imilco yn icuentla, auh yn oizhoac, in ie papatlacatoc, ynoc, tlapapatzoa, tlatlalhuja, tlacuenclapana, ixtlalillaujultinemj;

auh itla amilli, clothxilia, auh itla chinamc, chinãpanecatl, cintamalca, cintamalaquja, chiltecа, chilquetza, tlaçoqujpachoa,

ie vncan jnin quitta, yn imo nenvetzi, yn iciavitz, yn inecócol, ỳnjc quijta ynecuiltonol, ynciollalilliz, yn ochamachiuh yn oquittac inmacaiouh, moiollalia, poqui, vellamati,

tlacalaquia, izquich quicalaquja yn icin in iauitl, yn ixtac, in cuztic, in xiuhtoctli, auh in iquac pixca, in tlacnicni nopoxqua quitema, quicēquixtia, quipepena, in vevej cintli, cequi cochollalia, cāchcolalia, cequi colchicalca, ycaliaquac quijpipiloz yn iochol, yn ixichical, inhquin tlapipilcac ocholli, yn olchicalli, auh in molquitl nonqui quitema, ynac im popoioc

1. *Cuelaxpeoa*, in Sahagún (Carochan ed.), Vol. IV, p. 233, is "Hipoan, *perdidos que se introducen dentro de piel. Dermatophytes pedes pannosus L.*"
2. *Motlatilia*, *tequechtitilo* does not appear in the corresponding *Real Palacio* MS text.
3. *Ihuelilocatilizti* in *ibid.*; it is followed by *anoço axolotl*, *yuacxolotzli* (possibly meaning "or a bad taste in the mouth"); cf. *axolotl*.

It was as if the clusters and caltrop bunches hung suspended. And the undeveloped ears he laid apart, as well as the smutty ones. He kept all, he left nothing. He removed all the grains of maize, and the various things which were with the grains of maize.

And the harvesters, those who gathered the harvest, he provided with and gave bunches of ears of maize. He garlanded them with clusters of ears of maize. The harvesters, those who harvested for him, were provided and given clusters of ears of maize; they were garlanded with clusters of ears of maize, and with [single] ears.

And some walked about as gleaners. They gleaned, gathered, and searched for themselves the forgotten ears of maize, or the small, undeveloped ones, which the harvesters had not gathered. They hurried to all places[4] and went everywhere, feeling with their feet among the dry maize stalks, the leaves, and the husks, in order to place their gleanings in the fold of their capes.

And the owner of the garden then filled storage bins. He packed and filled his storage bins with his amaranth,[5] his *chía*, his beans. First he threshed, purified, sorted, and gathered them up, and winnowed and fanned out the chaff; he let the wind carry off and scatter the impurities. He threw away the dirt among the bean pods. Then he filled up each vessel. He filled the vessels with his food, sealed them up separately, etc.

atle quimaxa, tlacētoca much colcoia, yn inquinel yuch caca tlaolli, 787X 251

auh in pixcaque in quipixqualia, quimochavia, quimocholtia, quimocholoncatia, mochavia, mocholtia, mocholoncatia, mocloncatia, in pixcaque, in tepixquilique, 787X 241●

auh cequin oninemj motitirique, quimotitizia, quimocuiculia, quimotetemolia in çan oilcaoaloc cintli, anoço molquitotoni, in amo quicuicuique pixcaque, tlacencoltoca, quipanocviviví, tlatlacxitemotivi in oncquauhtitlan inontitlan, tetemochtitlan, ic motitiriquipilquentia yn jntitix,

auh in mile çatepan tlacuecōtema, tlacuecuencontema, tlacuencomatema, yn iiaouh, yn ichie, yn ieuh áchtopa quivitequi, quiiectia, quitlaiectilia, quitlacuicuilia, cicana, quchecaquetza, quicatoctia, quitepeua in polocati, quitlaça yn exotlaçolli, çatepā tlacocōtema, quicocōtema, quipepepechoa, in ie inquich inacaiouh. etc.[6]. 787X 251

4. After *quipinxocuitiuc* the *Real Palacio MS* reads: *in milli mexipā tlamochichiuhtiuh* . . . This would change it to read: *they hurried to all places and went from field to field. Everywhere they went stirring, feeling with their feet* . . .

5. Found in *Bibl.*; otherwise (*Simeon*), his ceremonial bundles.

[p. 130 is blank]